

Pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects: big DPs and coordinations

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1. INTRODUCTION

As is well-known, several Dutch dialects spoken in Belgium display clitic doubling of subject pronouns (cf. De Geest 1990, 1995, Haegeman 1992, 2005, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002ab, 2006ab).¹ An illustration of this phenomenon is provided in (1).

- (1) Ik paus da **se** **zaailn** kommen.
I think that they_{CLITIC} they_{STRONG} come
'I think they are coming.' (Wambeek Dutch)

There are two subject pronouns in the embedded clause of this example: the clitic pronoun *se* 'they' and the strong pronoun *zaailn* 'they', which together form the clitic doubled subject of the embedded clause. Traditional accounts of this phenomenon (cf. the references mentioned above) assume that either the clitic or the strong pronoun is the 'real', thematic subject, while the other is a secondary spell-out phenomenon.

In this paper, however, we introduce two new sets of data into the discussion that show that neither of these accounts is able to capture all the relevant facts. They concern instances of clitic doubling with coordinated subjects. A first example is given in (2).

- (2) Ik paus da **me** [**gou en ik**] dui suimen wel kunn oitgeruiken.
I think that we_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} and I_{STRONG} there together PRT can out.come
'I think that you and I can solve that together.'

¹ As pointed out by Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002ab, 2006ab), Dutch dialects display a second type of subject doubling as well, which does not involve a clitic pronoun as one of its components and which they call topic doubling. In this paper we abstract away from that phenomenon.

In this example, the first person plural clitic *me* ‘we’ does not double a strong pronoun as such, but rather a coordination of two strong pronouns *gou en ik* ‘you and I’. We dub this phenomenon full coordination clitic doubling or FuCCD for short. The second configuration we will focus on is illustrated in (3).

- (3) Ik paus da se [zaailn en waailn] dui suimen wel oitgeruiken
 I think that they_{CLITIC} they_{STRONG} and we_{STRONG} there together PRT out.come
 ‘I think that they and we will solve that together.’

Here, the clitic *se* ‘they’ does not double the entire coordination (note that the coordination as a whole is first person plural), but rather only the first conjunct of the coordinated subject. We will henceforth refer to such data as first conjunct clitic doubling or FCCD.

This paper is organized as follows. In the next section we explain why FuCCD- and FCCD-data present a problem for previous accounts of clitic doubling in non-standard Dutch. The analysis we want to propose instead makes use of the so-called big DP-hypothesis (cf. Uriagereka 1995, Laenzlinger 1998, Grohmann 2000, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002a, Belletti 2005, Polletto 2006, Taraldsen 2006; cf. also Kayne 2002), i.e. the idea that the doubler and the doublee are initially merged together as one constituent. In order to make our account as precise as possible, though, we first provide an in-depth analysis and classification of the pronominal system of one Dutch dialect in terms of the typology proposed by Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) (section 3). This will allow us to make very detailed claims about the internal structure of the big DP in clitic doubling in non-standard Dutch (section 4). In section 5 we examine the external syntax of such big DPs, i.e. we provide an analysis of ‘regular’ clitic doubling in Dutch dialects. Sections 6 and 7 then extend this analysis to FCCD and FuCCD respectively, showing that the problematic nature of these data disappears under the present approach. Section 8 sums up and concludes.

2. PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS OF CLITIC DOUBLING

Consider again a basic clitic doubling example in (4).

- (4) Ik paus da se zaailn kommen.
 I think that they_{CLITIC} they_{STRONG} come
 ‘I think they are coming.’ (Wambeek Dutch)

As already pointed out above, traditional accounts of clitic doubling in Dutch can be divided into roughly two camps, depending on which of the two subject pronouns they consider to be the ‘real’, thematic subject.^{2,3} The first line of approach (represented most notably by De Geest 1995 and Haegeman 1992, 2005) assumes that the clitic pronoun is the real subject which is base generated in the VP-internal subject position. This clitic moves via Spec,AgrSP to the CP-domain. The strong pronoun is a secondary spell-out phenomenon, e.g. a spell-out of ϕ - and focus-features in specAgrSP (Haegeman 2005:128). The second type of analysis on the other

² An exception is Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002a), who present a precursor to the present analysis. As will become clear in section four, though, our present account differs considerably from the 2002 analysis.

³ It should be clear that we are abstracting away here from details and individual differences and similarities between the accounts discussed. We are mainly interested in the general principle and in the problems caused by FuCCD- and FCCD-data for that general principle.

hand, assumes – in the spirit of Sportiche (1995) – that the strong pronoun is the real subject, while the clitic spells out an inflectional head in the high middle field or the low left periphery. This approach is put forward by Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002b, 2006ab).

Neither of these two lines of analysis, however, takes into account examples of clitic doubling with coordinated subjects. As we will presently show, this is unfortunate, as such data can provide a new perspective on the analysis of clitic doubling. Consider again some basic FuCCD- and FCCD-examples in (5) and (6).

(5) Ik paus da **me** [gou en ik] dui suimen wel kunn oitgeruiken.
 I think that we_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} and I_{STRONG} there together PRT can out.come
 ‘I think that you and I can solve that together.’ (Wambeek Dutch)

(6) Ik paus da **se** [zaailn en waailn] dui suimen wel oitgeruiken
 I think that they_{CLITIC} they_{STRONG} and we_{STRONG} there together PRT out.come
 ‘I think that they and we will solve that together.’ (Wambeek Dutch)

The data in (5) are problematic for the first type of analysis of clitic doubling. In particular, while it seems plausible that in some cases strong pronouns can surface as the mere spell-out of underlying ϕ -features (a comparison with resumptive pronouns comes to mind), it is highly implausible that something as complex as a coordination could serve the same purpose. What this example suggests, is that it is the second element that is the thematic subject. Does this mean these data support the second traditional account of clitic doubling in Dutch? No, as the data in (6) are problematic for both approaches to clitic doubling. This FCCD-example shows that the clitic cannot be the thematic subject, as it constitutes only part of the subject, while on the other hand it cannot be the spell-out of an agreement head either, as it does not have the same ϕ -features as the inflected verb, which agrees with the ϕ -features of the entire coordinated subject. It is clear, then, that FuCCD- and FCCD-data constitute a serious problem for traditional accounts of clitic doubling.

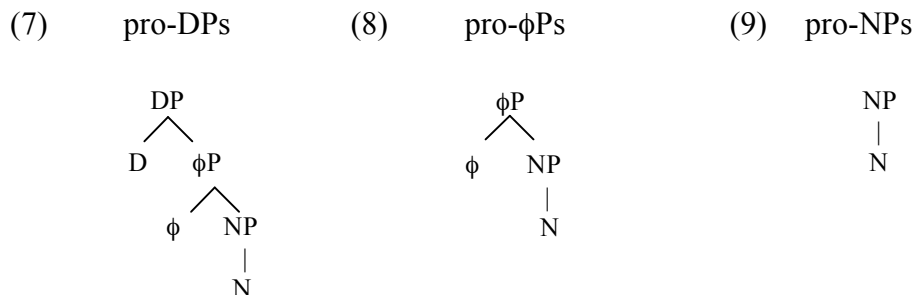
The problem is more fundamental than this, however. In particular, the traditional accounts of clitic doubling are unable to provide a principled answer for a number of more basic question concerning clitic doubling (cf. in this respect the debate between Haegeman 2005 and Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2006). First of all, one wonders why object clitic doubling is not possible. Secondly, the absence of clitic doubling of lexical DPs remains mysterious. The task we set ourselves in the remainder of this paper, then, is to provide an analysis of clitic doubling that is not only able to incorporate FuCCD and FCCD, but that also provides more insight into these two long-standing issues.

3. A CLASSIFICATION OF THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM IN WAMBEEK DUTCH

In this section we lay the foundation for our analysis of clitic doubling through an in-depth study of the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch. In particular, we apply the classification of pronouns proposed by Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) to the Wambeek Dutch pronominal system. The classification of pronouns in Wambeek Dutch will lead to an analysis of clitic doubling in which both the clitic and the strong pronoun are base generated as one DP.

3.1 Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002)

Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) (henceforth D&W) argue that there are three types of pronouns: pro-DPs, pro- ϕ Ps and pro-NPs. These three types of pronouns are related to another, in the sense that pro-DPs have a pro- ϕ P layer and a pro-NP layer, while pro- ϕ Ps in turn embed a pro-NP layer. Pro-NPs do not consist of any further layers. The structures in (7)-(9) represent the core idea of D&W's proposal.



These pronominal types can be distinguished from one another on the basis of several syntactic and semantic characteristics. First of all, if a pronoun has DP-status it is expected to act as a DP with respect to the Binding Theory, and hence to obey condition C. Pro- ϕ Ps on the other hand acts as pronouns with respect to the Binding Theory and are only sensitive to condition B. This also means that pro-DPs cannot function as bound variables, whereas pro- ϕ Ps can. D&W illustrate these characteristics on the basis of Halkomelem independent pronouns. Two representative examples are given in (10)a-b (from Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002:414).

- (10) a. Súq'-t-es [te swíyeqe]_i te kopú-s [tú-tl'ó]_i
 search-TRANS-3.SUBJ DET man DET coat-3.POSS DET -3SG
 ≠ 'The man_i was looking for his_i coat.'
- b. [Mékw' ye swíyeqe]_i kw'ák'w'ets-et-es te stóles-s [tú-tl'ólem]_i
 every DET.PL man looking-TRANS-3.SUBJ DET wife3.POSS DET-3PL
 ≠ 'All men_i are looking for their_i wives.'

These data show that *tú-tl'ó* and *tú-tl'ólem* cannot function as bound variables, and hence, that they are pro-DPs (cf. the original paper for other tests pointing in the same direction). As pointed out by Rullman (2004), however, the bound variable test should be handled with care, and various contexts should be considered before we can draw conclusions. As a result, we use four different tests in this paper to determine whether Wambeek Dutch pronouns can be used as bound variables. First of all, we look at simple bound variable contexts as in (11)a, in which a QP c-commands and binds the pronoun. Secondly, we discuss sentences in which a pronoun is bound by two antecedents. There are two subcases of this test. In the first one, illustrated in example (11)b (cf. Rullmann 2004:163, ex. 10a), one of the two antecedents is a quantifier. The pronoun *us* gets bound by the pair $\{Every\ woman, I\}$. In the second subcase, illustrated in (11)c (cf. Rullmann 2004:163, ex. 10c), one of the antecedents is an indefinite DP: the pronoun *we* is bound by the pair $\{I, a\ woman\}$. Such examples are a subtype of the famous donkey-sentences.

- (11) a. Every woman_i thinks she_i is beautiful.
 b. Every woman₃ I_S date wants us_{S,3} to get married.
 c. Whenever I_S share an apartment with a woman₃, we_{S,3} end up arguing about housework.

A fourth construction in which the bound variables status of pronouns can be tested is ellipsis. A pronoun that can act as a bound variable can induce a sloppy identity reading under ellipsis. An illustration of this is provided in (12)a-b. The pronoun *he* in (12)b is a pro- ϕ P (cf. D&W for argumentation) and can induce a sloppy reading under ellipsis whereas the proper name *Bill*, a DP, cannot.

- (12) a. My father thinks that Bill will come and my brother does too.
 = λx [x thinks that Bill will come] & λy [y thinks that Bill will come] [strict]
 \neq λx [x thinks that x will come] & λy [y thinks that y will come] [sloppy]
 b. My father thinks that he will come and my brother does too.
 = λx [x thinks that he will come] & λy [y thinks that he will come] [strict]
 = λx [x thinks that x will come] & λy [y thinks that y will come] [sloppy]

Finally, D&W argue that pro-DPs and pro- ϕ Ps can be used as arguments, while Pro-NPs cannot.⁴

To summarize, in order to make a classification of the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch, we use several tests based on Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) and Rullmann (2004). The various tests we use and the conclusions they lead to are schematically represented in the table in (13).

(13)

test		pro-DP	pro- ϕ P	pro-NP
1	<i>Condition C</i>	+	-	-
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	-	+	-
a	<i>simple QP</i>	-	+	-
b	<i>split antecedent + QP</i>	-	+	-
c	<i>split antecedent + indefinite</i>	-	+	-
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	-	+	-
3	<i>argument</i>	+	+	-

3.2 The pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch

In Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2000), we have applied the tripartition between strong, weak and clitic pronouns as proposed by Carinaletti & Starke (1999) to the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch. More specifically, we have provided arguments for the following classification:

⁴ In Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) this test is more complex, as it also concerns the possible predicate status of a pronoun (in order to distinguish between pro-DPs and pro- ϕ Ps). As this test was not applicable to our data for independent reasons, we abstract away from it here.

(14)

		subject pronouns	object pronouns			subject pronouns	object pronouns
<i>1 s</i>	<i>strong</i>	ik	mou	<i>1 p</i>	<i>strong</i>	waaile	ons
	<i>weak</i>	‘k	ma		<i>weak</i>	we	-
	<i>clitic</i>	‘k	-		<i>clitic</i>	me	-
<i>2 s</i>	<i>strong</i>	gou	ou	<i>2 p</i>	<i>strong</i>	gaaile	aaile
	<i>weak</i>	ge	a		<i>weak</i>	ge	-
	<i>clitic</i>	ge	-		<i>clitic</i>	ge	-
<i>3sm</i>	<i>strong</i>	aai	hem	<i>3 p</i>	<i>strong</i>	zaaile	eele
	<i>weak</i>	-	em		<i>weak</i>	ze	ze
	<i>clitic</i>	‘n	‘n		<i>clitic</i>	ze	ze
<i>3sf</i>	<i>strong</i>	zaai	ee				
	<i>weak</i>	ze	ze				
	<i>clitic</i>	ze	ze				
<i>3sn</i>	<i>strong</i>	-	-				
	<i>weak</i>	et	et				
	<i>clitic</i>	t	t				

In the remainder of this section, we provide a classification of the Wambeek Dutch pronominal system in (14) into pro-DPs, pro- ϕ Ps and pro-NPs.

3.3 The categorial status of subject pronouns in Wambeek Dutch

3.3.1 Subject clitics

Subject clitics behave as pro- ϕ Ps. The table in (15) summarizes the results of the tests. Subject clitics are not sensitive to condition C, they can act as bound variables and they can appear as arguments.⁵

⁵ We did not include the actual examples in the main text. They are all provided in the appendix.

(15)

<i>Subject clitics</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	-
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	+
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	+
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	+
3	<i>Argument</i>	+
	Conclusion	<i>pro-ϕP</i>

3.3.2 Weak subject pronouns

As is clear from the table in (14), weak pronouns and clitic pronouns are often homophonous. Furthermore, if a certain person/number-combination can be expressed both as a clitic and as a weak pronoun, the clitic pronoun is preferred in neutral contexts (cf. in this respect also Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). Hence, it is important to make sure we are dealing with weak pronouns in the tests provided below and not with clitic pronouns. In Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2000) we show that weak pronouns can be separated from the complementizer by a parenthetical constituent, while clitic pronouns cannot. This is illustrated in (16) for colloquial standard Dutch, which has a clitic pronoun *ie* ‘he’ and a weak pronoun *ze* ‘she’.

- (16) a. * Ik denk dat, naar alle waarschijnlijkheid, *ie* vandaag niet komt.
 I think that to all probability *he*_{CLITIC} today not comes
- b. Ik denk dat, naar alle waarschijnlijkheid, *ze* vandaag niet komt.
 I think that to all probability *she*_{WEAK} today not comes
 ‘I think that it is unlikely that she will come today.’ (colloquial standard Dutch)

Therefore, we have included an if-clauses in between the complementizer *da* ‘that’ and the subject pronoun in the tests (as can be seen in the appendix) in order to guarantee that we are indeed dealing with weak pronouns, rather than with clitics.

According to the tests of D&W, weak subject pronouns should be classified as *pro- ϕ P*s, as is shown in the table in (17).

(17)

<i>Weak subject pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	-
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	+
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	+
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	+
3	<i>Argument</i>	+
	Conclusion	<i>pro-ϕP</i>

3.3.3 Strong subject pronouns

With strong subject pronouns, the tests do not all lead to the same conclusion. On the one hand, the lack of a condition C effect in (18) seems to suggest that strong subject pronouns are pro- ϕ s. However, when we look at the bound variable behaviour of these strong pronouns in (19)-(22), the conclusion seems to be that strong subject pronouns are pro-DPs.⁶

Test 1 Condition C

- (18) Marie_i paust da zaai_i gui winnen.
 Marie thinks that she_{STRONG} goes win
 ‘Marie thinks that she will win.’

Test 2 Bound variable

a simple QP

- (19) Elke vrou_i paust da zaai_i gui winnen.
 every woman thinks that she_{STRONG} goes win
 ‘Every woman thinks that she will win.’

b Split antecedent + QP

- (20) * Elk maske_i paust da ‘k_S gezeid em da waai_e_{S,1} gonj winnen.
 every girl thinks that I said have that we_{STRONG} go win
 ‘Every girl thinks that I have said that we will win.’

c Split antecedent + indefinite

- (21) * Elke kieje da ‘k_S me een vrou₁ suimewoeën,
 every time that I with a woman live.together
 muike waai_e_{S,1} rizee.
 make we_{STRONG} argument
 ‘Every time I live together with a woman, we quarrel.’

d sloppy identity under ellipsis

- (22) Marie paust da zaai gui winnen, en Julia oek.
 Marie thinks that she_{STRONG} goes win, and Julia also
 = λx [x thinks that she will win] & λy [y thinks that she will win] [strict]
 ≠ λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win] [sloppy]

Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002:424) show that certain pronouns they classify as pro-DPs also fail to trigger condition C violations. They argue that this is expected under Demirdache’s (1997) analysis of condition C effects. According to Demirdache, condition C effects can be reduced to strong cross-over violations. In her analysis, the example in (23)a is ungrammatical because in English all DPs are quantificational and undergo Quantifier Raising. The fact that QR takes place leads to a strong cross-over violation, as illustrated in (23)b.

⁶ For reasons unclear to us, simple QPs do not pattern like the other tests. We hope to return to the contrast between (19) on the one hand and (20)-(22) on the other.

- (23) a. * I know he_i loves Oscar_i.
 b. [Oscar_i] [I know he_i loves t_i]

Demirdache shows that in languages in which DPs are not quantificational and hence do not undergo QR, there are no Condition C effects. D&W argue that on the basis of this analysis it is expected that pro-DPs that are not quantificational and hence do not undergo QR are also not sensitive to condition C. This, they claim, is why focused pronouns and deictic pronouns are not subject to condition C. Strong pronouns in the dialect of Wambeek necessarily carry a focused interpretation, and hence are not expected to be subject to condition C. This means that the lack of condition C effects in this case does not say anything about the categorial status of strong subject pronouns. However, the fact that they cannot act as bound variables in three out of four contexts seems to lead to the conclusion that these pronouns are in fact pro-DPs. The summary of the results of these tests is provided in the table in (24).

(24)

<i>Strong subject pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	inconclusive
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	-
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	-
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	-
3	<i>Argument</i>	+
	<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>pro-DP</i>

3.3.4 Clitic doubled subject pronouns

The test results for clitic-doubled subject pronouns are in all relevant respects identical to those of non-doubled strong subject pronouns (cf. the previous subsection). In particular, while the majority of the tests points towards an analysis of clitic-doubled pronouns in terms of pro-DPs, one test is inconclusive (Condition C) and one points towards a pro- ϕ P-account (simple QPs). Not surprisingly then, we reach the same conclusion as in the previous section, i.e. clitic-doubled pronouns are pro-DPs.

(25)

<i>Clitic- doubled subject pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	inconclusive
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	-
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	-
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	-
3	<i>Argument</i>	+
	<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>pro-DP</i>

3.3.5 Coordinated subject pronouns

Coordinated subject pronouns behave in all respects as pro-DPs. They are sensitive to condition C and cannot appear as bound variables.

(26)

<i>coordinated subject pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	+
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	-
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	-
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	-
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	-
3	<i>Argument</i>	+
	Conclusion	pro-DP

3.4 The categorial status of object pronouns in Wambeek Dutch

3.4.1 Object clitics

Just like subject clitics and weak subject pronouns, object clitics and weak object pronouns are also often homophonous (cf. supra, the table in (14)). In order to make sure that we are dealing with object clitics in this section, we use examples in which the object pronoun appears in between the two parts of a clitic doubled subject. As Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2000, 2002ab, 2006ab) have shown, this position is strictly reserved for object clitics.

Surprisingly, the tests based on Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) and Rullmann (2004) lead to the conclusion that object clitics are not pro- ϕ Ps like their subject counterparts, but rather pro-DPs. In particular, they are sensitive to condition C of the binding theory and they cannot be used as bound variables.

(27)

<i>Object clitics</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	+
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	-
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	-
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	-
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	-
3	<i>argument</i>	+
	Conclusion	pro-DP

3.4.2 Weak object pronouns

Weak object pronouns can be unambiguously classified as *pro-φP*. They are not sensitive to condition C and they can be used as bound variables.

(28)

<i>Weak object pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	-
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	+
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	+
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	+
3	<i>Argument</i>	+
	<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>pro-φP</i>

3.4.3 Strong object pronouns

Strong object pronouns behave exactly the same as weak object pronouns with respect to condition C of the binding theory and the ability to act as bound variables. Hence, strong object pronouns can also be classified as *pro-φP*.

(29)

<i>Strong object pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	-
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	+
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	+
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	+
3	<i>Argument</i>	+
	<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>pro-φP</i>

3.5 Summary

Following Déchaine & Wiltschko's (2002) classification of pronouns into *pro-DPs*, *pro-φPs* and *pro-NPs*, we have made a detailed inventory of the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch. On the basis of several tests we have reached the conclusion that the pronominal system of this dialect is made up exclusively out of *pro-φPs* and *pro-DPs*. A detailed summary of the classification is provided in (30). In the remainder of this paper we provide an analysis of subject clitic doubling in Wambeek Dutch that makes crucial use of the categorial status of these various subject and object pronouns.

(30)

subject	<i>clitic</i>	ϕ P
	<i>weak</i>	ϕ P
	<i>strong</i>	DP
	<i>Clitic Doubled subject</i>	DP
	<i>CoP of pronouns</i>	DP
object	<i>clitic</i>	DP
	<i>weak</i>	ϕ P
	<i>strong</i>	ϕ P

4. PUTTING TWO AND TWO TOGETHER: THE BIG DP

4.1 Introduction

In the previous section we have given a detailed classification of the pronominal system of Wambeek Dutch in terms of the three-way split proposed by Dechaïne & Wiltschko (2002). In particular, while object clitics and strong subject pronouns behave as pro-DPs, weak and clitic subject pronouns have the defining characteristics of pro- ϕ Ps. In this section we show that this classification leads to a very specific proposal for the analysis of clitic doubling in Wambeek Dutch, one that straightforwardly accounts for a number of salient characteristics of this phenomenon.

4.2 The basic structure

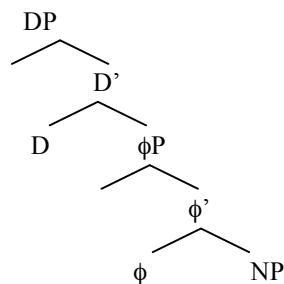
An analysis of pronominal doubling that has been around for at least ten years, but that has become increasingly popular recently, is the so-called big DP-account (cf. Uriagereka 1995, Laenzlinger 1998, Grohmann 2000, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002a, Belletti 2005, Polletto 2006, Taraldsen 2006; cf. also Kayne 2002). It starts out from the assumption that the doubled and the doubling element are initially merged together in one complex ‘big DP’, which is then split up – usually by movement – in the rest of the derivation. The main problem with such accounts, though, is that they are either not explicit about the internal structure of the big DP or that they assume an internal structure that seems compatible with only part of the data. In particular, it is well-known that in many Romance languages the morphology of (object) clitic pronouns is identical to that of determiners. Accordingly, several researchers have proposed that clitic doubled objects in Romance start out as a DP the head of which is the clitic pronoun, while the rest of the DP is spelled out as the doubled element (cf. Uriagereka 1995, Laenzlinger 1998, Grohmann 2000). While this looks like a promising tack to take for Romance, however, it breaks down in Germanic, as Germanic determiners are *not* homophonous to clitic pronouns. Consider in this respect the contrast between the French examples in (31) and the Wambeek Dutch ones in (32).

- (31) a. Jean voit **la** femme.
 John sees the woman
 ‘John sees the woman.’
 b. Jean **la** voit.
 John her sees
 ‘John sees her.’ (French)
- (32) a. Jef ziet **de** vrou.
 Jef sees the woman
 ‘Jef sees the woman.’
 b. Jef ei-**se** gezien.
 Jef has-her seen
 ‘Jef saw her.’ (Wambeek Dutch)

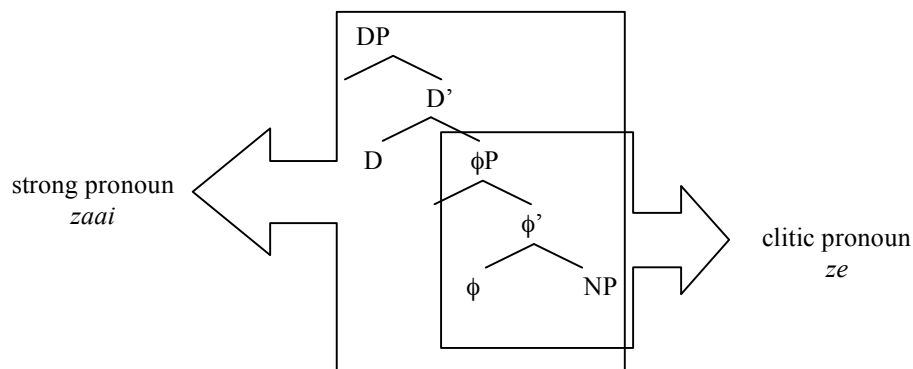
While in French the form of the object clitics is systematically identical to that of the corresponding determiners, in Wambeek Dutch the two paradigms are substantially different. This does not necessarily rule out the clitics-as-D°-analysis for Germanic (cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002a), but it does take away the key piece of evidence supporting such an account in Romance.

In this paper, we want to take a different approach, one which is based on the classification argued for in the previous section. Recall that in Wambeek Dutch – as in all varieties of Dutch – it is only strong subject pronouns that can be doubled by a clitic. In section 3.3.3 we have argued that strong subject pronouns should be analyzed as pro-DPs. This implies that they have the abstract structure outlined in (33) (cf. D&W 2002:410).

(33) **schematic structure of strong subject pronouns**



Recall that according to D&W, a pro-DP contains a pro-phiP and a pro-NP as its subparts. This, we want to argue, provides the key to understanding the mechanism behind clitic doubling in Wambeek Dutch. In particular, in section 3.3.1 we have shown that subject clitics are themselves pro-phiPs. Given that the structure of strong subject pronouns contains such a phiP, it seems tempting to try and relate the presence of the clitic in a doubling configuration to this particular subpart of the internal structure of strong subject pronouns. In particular, as will become clear and technically precise in the following sections, we will assume that a clitic-doubled form like *ze-zaai* (‘she’, lit. she_{CLITIC}-she_{STRONG}) can arise as a result of double spell-out: the DP-part of the structure in (33) is spelled out as a strong pronoun, and the phiP-part as a clitic (cf. Barbiers e.a. 2007 for a comparable – though not identical – approach to clitic doubling). This is schematically represented in (34).

(34) **schematic structure of a clitic doubled strong subject pronoun**

This is the analysis we will develop more fully in the rest of the paper. A clitic doubled DP starts out as one constituent, and in the course of the derivation, various parts are spelled out as different pronominal elements. Note that this is not only a very explicit proposal about the internal structure of big DPs, it also accords very well with our findings from the previous section, i.e. strong subject pronouns are pro-DPs and subject clitics are pro- ϕ Ps. Before we focus on the external syntax of clitic doubling – thereby making explicit how the structure in (33) can be subject to double spell-out – we first want to look at a number of predictions raised by this basic proposal.

4.3 Predictions made by the proposal

The big DP-approach we have sketched in the previous section allows for a fairly straightforward analysis of two long-standing questions surrounding clitic doubling in Dutch dialects. First of all, it can explain why these dialects lack clitic doubling of fully lexical DPs. Consider in this respect the example in (35).

- (35) * ... da-se-t dei doktores gezien eit.
 that-se_{clitic}-it_{clitic} that female.doctor seen has
 INTENDED: ‘... that that female doctor has seen it.’

The constituent *dei doktores* ‘that female doctor’ is a DP. Given that a DP contains a ϕ P and an NP as its subparts, this seems to suggest that the doubling mechanism proposed in the previous section should be applicable here as well. Note, however, that there is a crucial difference between (33)/(34) on the one hand and (35) on the other. While in the structure in (33)/(34) ϕ P contains only functional material (say, ϕ -features), in a DP such as *dei doktores* the NP-part contains lexical material (the noun *doktores*). Given that NP is dominated by ϕ P, this material is also present in ϕ P. It is clear that such a constituent cannot be spelled out as a clitic – one could even wonder if it can be spelled out separately at all. In other words, the lack of clitic doubling with lexical DPs follows straightforwardly from the present account.

The second and arguably more puzzling question concerning pronominal doubling in Dutch concerns the absence of object clitic doubling. Consider a relevant example in (36).

- (36) * ... da-ge-ze ee gezien etj.
 that-you_{clitic}-her_{clitic} her_{strong} seen have
 ‘... that you have seen her.’

The sentence in (36) is grammatical with either the object clitic on its own or the strong object pronoun on its own, but not when the two are combined. This fact is particularly mysterious from the point of view of big DP analyses. Given that there is no intrinsic difference between object and subject DPs, a mechanism that is available to one should be available to the other as well. In the present proposal, however, the absence of object clitic doubling follows from the two basic ingredients: on the one hand the idea that the clitic is a spell-out of a subpart of the strong subject pronoun and on the other the classification of the pronominal system in terms of the distinction between DPs, ϕ Ps and NPs. Recall that we have shown in the previous section that object clitics, unlike their subject counterparts, are DPs rather than ϕ Ps. Strong object pronouns on the other hand were shown to be ϕ Ps. This means that object clitics can never be the spell-out of a subpart of strong object pronouns, and as a result, that object clitic doubling is not an option in the dialects under consideration here.⁷

Summing up, the theory we have outlined so far not only makes very specific (and hence falsifiable) claims about the internal structure of big DPs in Wambeek Dutch, it also offers a straightforward account for two long-standing questions concerning pronominal doubling in non-standard Dutch. In the next section we examine the clausal syntax of these big DPs.

5. THE SYNTAX OF CLITIC DOUBLING

Determining the internal structure of a clitic-doubled DP is only the first half of the analysis. We also have to examine its external syntax, in order to determine which syntactic processes act upon it in the course of the derivation, thus making technically precise the mechanism of double spell-out alluded to several times above.

We will argue that the big DP is subject to two separate Probe/Goal-relations with concomitant Internal Merge operations. The first one is the well-known mechanism responsible for subject agreement on the verb. Specifically, T° probes the subject in specvP, after which the subject is internally merged in specTP. The second, higher Probe specifically targets the clitic part of the big DP (i.e. the ϕ P). In order to make this probing operation technically precise, we first focus on the feature specification of subject clitics. As is shown in the table in (37) below, Wambeek Dutch has a full paradigm of subject clitics. We take this to indicate that they have a full set of (valued) phi-features.

(37)

	singular	plural
1	<i>'k</i>	<i>me</i>
2	<i>ge</i>	<i>ge</i>
3m	<i>n</i>	<i>ze</i>
f	<i>ze</i>	
n	<i>t</i>	

⁷ One object doubling configuration that remains theoretically possible is the one whereby a strong object pronoun (a ϕ P) spells out part of an object clitic (a DP). We return to this option in the next section.

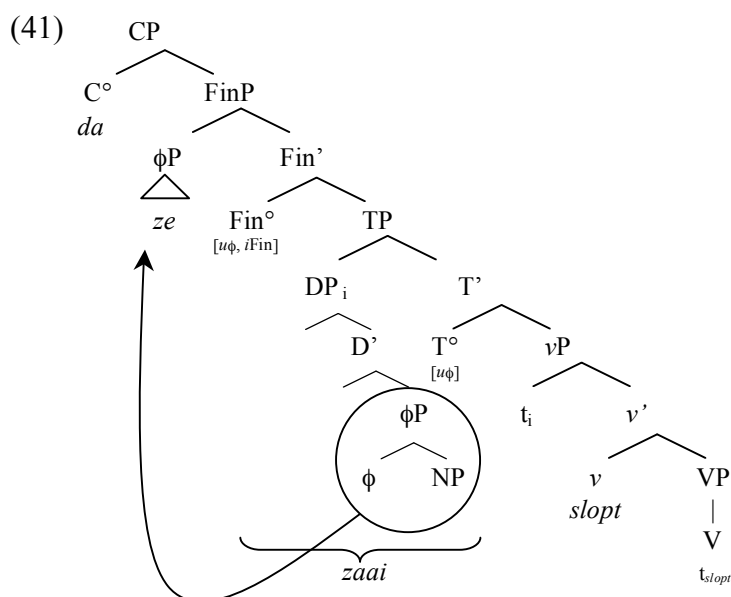
This does not exhaust their feature specification, however. In particular, there is a featural difference between subject clitics and strong subject pronouns. Consider in this respect the examples in (38) and (39).

- (38) (*Ge) *(gou) em gezien emmen is ni genoeg.
 you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} him seen have-_{INF} is not enough
 ‘Having seen him is not enough.’

- (39) En (*ge) *(gou) em helpen zeker?
 and you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} him help-_{INF} surely
 ‘And you’re gonna help him, I suppose?’

These data show that while strong pronouns are allowed in infinitival subjects and root infinitives, clitic-doubled pronouns and bare clitics are not. More generally, subject clitics are restricted to finite contexts.⁸ We encode this observation by adding an uninterpretable/unvalued Fin(iteness)-feature to the feature matrix of subject clitics. This, we assume, is what formally distinguishes a non-doubled strong subject pronoun from a clitic doubled one: the latter carries an unvalued [Fin]-feature, but the former does not. This feature has to be checked against an appropriate C-head, thus ensuring that clitics only show up in finite contexts. Following current cartographic theorizing on the CP-domain (cf. Rizzi 1997 et seq.), we will assume that it is Fin° that targets subject clitics in Wambeek Dutch, i.e. Fin° is the second Probe alluded to at the beginning of this section. With all of this in mind, the analysis of a basic clitic doubling example such as the one in (40) can now be represented as in (41).

- (40) ... da ze zaaï slopt.
 that she_{CLITIC} she_{STRONG} sleeps
 ‘... that she’s sleeping.’



In this structure, the strong subject pronoun is merged as a (big) DP in spec_vP. When T° is merged, the unvalued ϕ -features of this head cause the subject to raise to its specifier. In the

⁸ Cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002b) for a similar observation about object clitics.

next step of the derivation, Fin° is merged. Due to its combination of ϕ - and Fin -features, it specifically probes for the clitic portion of the subject and attracts it to specFinP . Finally, the finite complementizer is merged (arguably in Force° , but the head is neutrally labeled C° here), which concludes the narrow syntactic derivation of this subclause. At PF, two links in the subject chain are spelled out: the ϕP in specFinP is spelled out as a clitic, and the DP in specTP as a strong subject pronoun. This completes our derivation of subject clitic doubling in Wambeek Dutch.

Before moving on to our analysis of first conjunct clitic doubling, there is one technical aspect of our analysis we want to focus on further. It concerns the notion of subject chain we are adopting. As pointed out in the previous paragraph, we assume the clitic and the strong pronoun to represent two links in a single (extended) movement chain. That is, the subject undergoes ϕ -driven movement from specvP to specFinP via specTP , but given its specific feature specification, the final step of the movement operation involves only a smaller portion of the subject-DP. This type of approach has a number of distinct advantages. First of all, the double spell-out mechanism we propose is perfectly in line with the more well-known cases of multiple spell-out discussed in Nunes (2004). Like in those other phenomena, the double spell-out mechanism involved in clitic doubling is optional. This is illustrated in (42).

- (42) ... da ze (zaai) slopt.
 that she_{CLITIC} she_{STRONG} sleeps
 ‘... that she’s sleeping.’

Moreover, this double spell-out – which under normal circumstances would cause the linearization algorithm to crash – is only allowed because one of the spelled out copies undergoes morphological merger with a nearby host. In particular, it is well-known that clitics in Dutch dialects form one morpho-phonological unit with the complementizer to their left (cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b:285n3 for some of the evidence in favor of this claim). As such, our analysis explains why clitic doubling always involves a clitic, and not, say, two strong pronouns.

A second advantage of taking the clitic and the strong subject pronoun to constitute two links in the same movement chain, is that it straightforwardly accounts for the ungrammaticality of examples such as the one in (43).

- (43) Zaii paus-ek da (*se) da guit duun.
 she_{strong} think-I that she_{clitic} that goes do
 ‘SHE I think will do that.’

This example shows that while a strong subject pronoun can undergo long focalization, it cannot do so when it is clitic doubled. In other words, a clitic doubled strong subject pronoun cannot move across its doubling clitic. If the two were completely independent syntactic objects, this restriction would be unexpected, especially since no relativized minimality seems to be at stake (the clitic not being a suitable target for focalisation). Under the approach adopted here, though, the facts follow straightforwardly. Given that it is not allowed to move any link but the highest in an existing movement chain, the strong pronoun in a clitic doubling configuration is frozen in place.

Thirdly and finally, the claim that clitic and strong pronoun form a single chain also provides a handle on a problem facing nearly all big DP-analyses of subject doubling, i.e. the fact that the derivation in (41) at first sight violates the Subject Condition. In particular, it looks like the clitic is subextracted from a subject in its derived position. Under the assumption adopted here, however, there is no such subextraction. Instead, there is one single movement chain that happens to be spelled out twice.

Summing up, in this section we have outlined our analysis of clitic doubling in Wambeek Dutch (and in non-standard Dutch more generally). The clitic and the strong pronoun start out as one single DP (cf. *supra*, section 4.2). This DP moves to specFinP via specTP, but due to its having an uninterpretable/unvalued [Fin]-feature, the final step of this movement operation only affects the ϕ P-part of the DP. At PF, the two highest chain links in the movement chain of the subject are spelled out, thus creating a typical clitic doubling configuration. This analysis turned out to be perfectly in line with other well-known instances of multiple spell-out, it provided an account for the fact that doubled strong pronouns are frozen in place, and it opened up a way of circumventing the apparent Subject Island violation inherent in big DP-analyses of subject doubling.⁹ In the next section we apply this analysis to first conjunct clitic doubling.

6. THE SYNTAX OF FIRST CONJUNCT CLITIC DOUBLING

Recall that at the outset of this paper, we presented a new set of doubling data to show that none of the traditional accounts of clitic doubling in non-standard Dutch is able to handle all the relevant facts. In particular, the fact that clitics can be used to double the first conjunct of a coordinated subject seems incompatible both with accounts that assume the clitic is the spell-out of an agreement head (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b) and with analyses that assume the doubled element is a mere spell-out of ϕ -features (cf. Haegeman 2005). In this section we show that first coordination clitic doubling (or FCCD for short) can be straightforwardly handled in the proposal put forward in this paper. The analysis we will propose is virtually identical to the account presented above for ‘regular’ clitic doubling. The only complication will be the fact that the doubled element is now part of a coordination.

In an FCCD-sentence, the clitic that is attached to the complementizer (or the fronted verb) agrees with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. An example is given in (44).

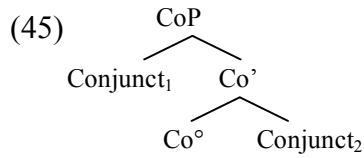
- (44) ... omda-ge gou en ik makannern gezien emmen.
 because-you_{clitic} you_{strong} and I each.other seen have
 ‘...because you and I saw each other.’

In this example the subject clitic *ge* ‘you’ agrees only with the first conjunct *gou* ‘you’ of the coordinated subject *gou en ik* ‘you and I’.¹⁰ Given that the finite verb is plural and given that the sentence contains a reciprocal (i.e. *makannern* ‘each other’), it is clear that this is not a case of IP-coordination, but that it is only the subject that is coordinated. In other words, what we have here is a case of pronominal subject doubling whereby the doubling element doubles only

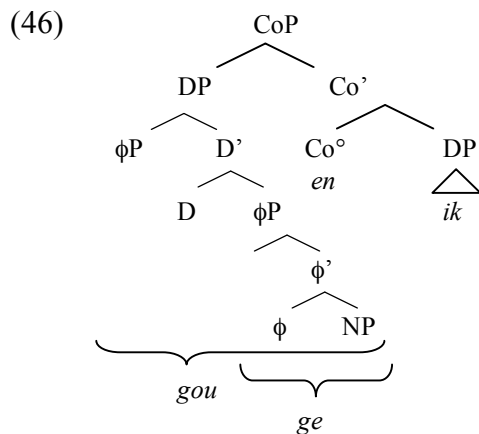
⁹ Note also that the hypothetical account left open in note 7, i.e. an object clitic DP being doubled by a strong object pronoun ϕ P, is ruled out by the analysis we have presented. In particular, given that the movement that leads to the ‘separation’ of the clitic and the strong pronoun is due to the [Fin]-feature of the clitic, it would always induce movement of the entire DP in this hypothetical case, and the strong pronoun ϕ P would never surface as a separate syntactic object (and hence, would not be spelled out separately).

¹⁰ Note that the coordination as a whole is first person plural, and hence incompatible with the second person singular clitic.

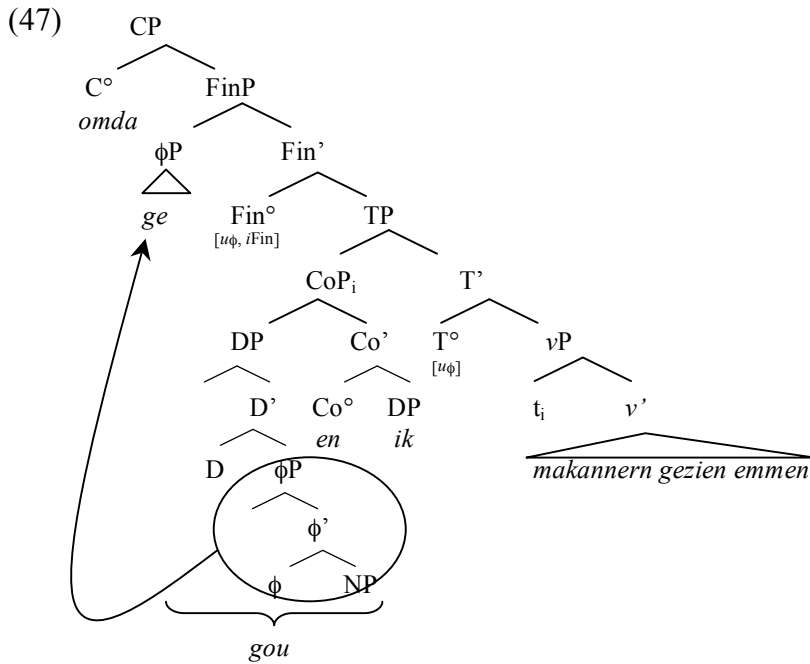
part of the subject. In order to be able to analyze these data, we first have to make explicit what our analysis of coordinated structures is. We follow Munn (1993), Kayne (1994), Johannessen (1998), Progovac (1998) and Van Koppen (2005) in assuming that coordinations have the schematic structure in (45), whereby the coordinator is the head of the entire coordination, the first conjunct sits in its specifier, and the second conjunct is the complement of the coordinator.



With this much as background, we can proceed to our analysis of FCCD. The starting point will be the analysis of ‘regular’ clitic doubling outlined in the previous section. This means the subject clitic and the strong subject pronoun that it doubles start out as one big DP. In particular, the clitic corresponds to the ϕ P-part of the strong subject pronoun that appears as first conjunct. This is schematically represented in (46) for the example in (44).



This complex structure is now merged in the subject position (i.e. specvP) of the verb *gezien* ‘seen’ in (44), after which point the derivation proceeds as in (47).



In this structure, the big DP containing both the strong subject pronoun and the subject clitic is merged as the first conjunct of the CoP in spec_vP. When T° is merged, the unvalued ϕ -features of this head cause the CoP to raise to its specifier. In the next step of the derivation, Fin° is merged. Due to its combination of ϕ - and Fin-features, it specifically probes for the clitic portion of the first conjunct of the CoP and attracts it to specFinP. At PF, the ϕ P in specFinP is spelled out as a clitic, and the DP in the first conjunct of the coordination as a strong subject pronoun. This completes our derivation of FCCD in Wambeek Dutch.

It is clear that the derivation sketched in (47) is highly similar to the one presented in the previous section. Both analyses depend on the same two basic ingredients, i.e. big DP and double spell-out. In other words, our approach to clitic doubling extends naturally to FCCD-data. At the same time, however, the structure in (47) raises two new questions. The first concerns the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). In particular, the operation moving the ϕ P from its DP-internal position to specFinP seems to violate this well-known and well-established locality restriction on movement. It is important to note that the solution we presented in the previous section with respect to the Subject Island is only of limited avail here. Specifically, if the clitic and the strong pronoun represent two links in a single movement chain – as we claim they do – the derivation in (47) does not contain an instance of subextraction out of one conjunct of a coordinated structure (just like the derivation in (41) in the previous section did not contain an instance of subextraction out of a subject in a derived position). However, given that the CSC blocks not only subextraction out of a conjunct, but also movement of the entire conjunct, the representation in (47) is still predicted to be illicit. What we want to propose instead is that it is the double spell-out mechanism itself that salvages the CSC-violation in this example. In particular, by being spelled out, the strong pronoun in specCoP starts acting like a resumptive (or more specifically, an intrusive) pronoun that amnesties the CSC-violation (cf. Kroch 1981). This line of approach makes an immediate prediction with respect to the optionality of doubling in FCCD. Recall that in ‘regular’ clitic doubling, the spelling out of the strong subject pronoun is optional (cf. example (48), repeated from above).

- (48) ... da ze (zaai) slopt.
 that she_{CLITIC} she_{STRONG} sleeps
 ‘... that she’s sleeping.’

In FCCD, however, the strong subject pronoun takes on the role of an intrusive pronoun that is needed to salvage an otherwise unavoidable CSC-violation. This predicts that in such cases, doubling should be obligatory. As shown in (49), this prediction is borne out.¹¹

- (49) ... omda-ge *(gou) en ik makannern gezien emmen.
 because-you_{clitic} you_{strong} and I each.other seen have
 ‘...because you and I saw each other.’

The second question that arises as a result of the derivation in (47) concerns the absence of second conjunct clitic doubling. In particular, nothing in the analysis seems to rule out merging the big DP as the *second* conjunct of the CoP, thus leading to clitic doubling of this conjunct. This would lead to the derivation of ungrammatical examples such as the one in (50), clearly an undesirable result.

- (50) * ... omda-k gou en ik makannern gezien emmen.
 because-I_{clitic} you_{strong} and I each.other seen have
 INTENDED: ‘...because you and I saw each other.’

We propose to ascribe the ill-formedness of examples such as (50) to a locality violation (cf. in this respect Van Koppen 2005). In particular, the first conjunct is a more local Goal for the Fin° -Probe than the second one, and as a result, it blocks clitic movement from that second conjunct. Although we will leave the details of such an account as a topic for further investigation, it is important to point out that it is entirely consistent with current theorizing on the locality of (ϕ -)Agree-relations. Moreover, as we will show in the next section, the locality restriction on the second conjunct can be lifted when Fin° -driven movement proceeds from both conjuncts simultaneously. In such a scenario the locality considerations alluded to here no longer apply, and the ϕP of the second conjunct can be raised.

To sum up, in this section we have presented our analysis of first conjunct clitic doubling. In so doing, we made use of the two basic ingredients that were introduced in the previous section: big DPs and double spell-out. The fact that the doubled strong pronoun is situated inside a coordination led to a discussion of the CSC. We proposed that spelling out the chain link inside the first conjunct as a strong pronoun serves to create an intrusive pronoun that salvages an otherwise unavoidable CSC-violation. This also explained why spelling out the strong pronoun is obligatory in this case (unlike in ‘regular’ clitic doubling). Finally, we looked at the absence of second conjunct clitic doubling, and argued that such a phenomenon would violate the locality condition on the Agree-relation induced by Fin° .

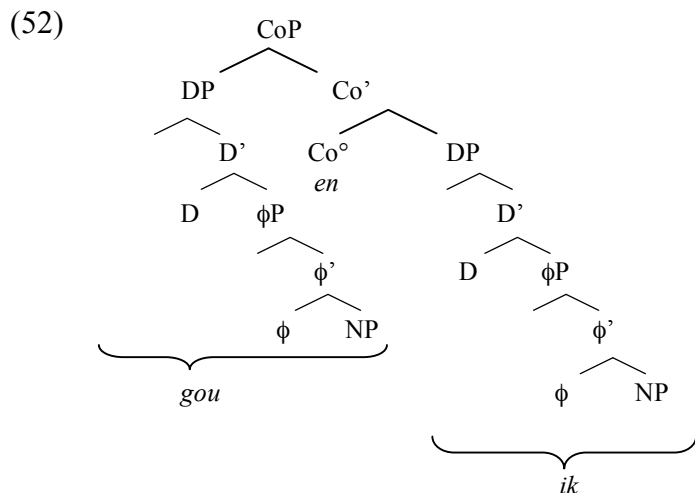
¹¹ Note that the ungrammaticality of (49) cannot be due to the fact that clitics are not allowed to occur in coordinations (Kayne 1975). This is suggested by the well-known fact that in Celtic languages, the first conjunct of the complement of a preposition can cliticize onto that preposition (McCloskey & Hale 1984).

7. FULL COORDINATION CLITIC DOUBLING

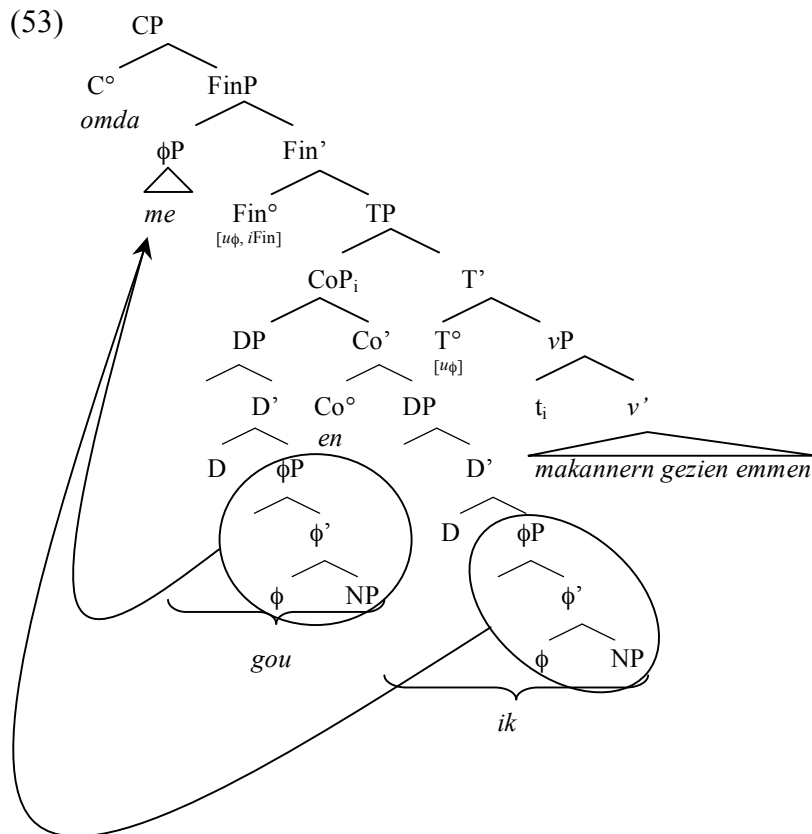
Recall that in full coordination clitic doubling (FuCCD), it is not the first conjunct but rather the entire coordination that is doubled by a clitic. Consider again a representative example in (51).

- (51) ... omda-me gou en ik makannern gezien emmen.
 because-we_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} and I each.other seen have
 ‘...because you and I saw each other.’

In this sentence the clitic *me* ‘we’ has the same ϕ -feature specification as the entire coordination *gou en ik* ‘you and I’. As such, it seems to double the entire CoP. At first sight, this poses a considerable problem for the type of big DP-analysis we have been advocating so far. In particular, in our analysis the doubling and the doubled pronoun were simply two sides of the same coin, as they spelled out different portions of the same DP-structure. Consider in this respect the structure of the coordination *gou en ik* ‘you and I’:



The problem this structure poses for the big DP-analysis of the previous sections is the fact that there is no ϕ P available that can serve as spell-out of the clitic-double of the entire CoP. One way out of the problem would be to assume that the functional superstructure of CoP contains such a ϕ P, but given what little is known about CoPs, that would amount to a pure stipulation. The approach we want to suggest here is quite different. Note that the structure in (52) does contain a ϕ P in each individual conjunct. Moreover, the combined ϕ -feature specification of these two ϕ Ps is precisely the specification of the doubling clitic in (51). What we propose, then, is that FuCCD arises as the result of ATB-movement of the ϕ Ps of both conjuncts to specFinP. More specifically, the derivation of the example in (51) proceeds as in (53).



This structure contains not one, but two big DPs: one in each conjunct of the CoP. This CoP is probed by the unvalued ϕ -features of T° and subsequently moves to specTP, after which Fin° is merged. Just like in the previous sections, the combination of ϕ - and Fin -features acts as a Probe. What is different about this derivation, though, is that this probing operation triggers ATB-movement of *both* ϕ P to specFinP.¹² The highest copy of this movement chain is then spelled out as a clitic that combines the ϕ -features of both independent ϕ P, i.e. as a clitic that doubles the entire coordination. This completes our derivation of FuCCD in Wambeek Dutch.

The analysis outlined above is highly similar to the ones discussed in the two previous sections. Once again, we make crucial use of big DPs on the one hand and double spell-out on the other. In other words, the analysis pursued in this paper straightforwardly – and in a unified manner – accounts not only for ‘regular’ clitic doubling, but also for FCCD and FuCCD. Moreover, the account predicts that an FCCD-clitic and an FuCCD-clitic should not be able to co-occur. Given that both of them are the spell-out of a copy of ϕ P in specFinP, at most one of them should be able to surface in a single sentence. As the example in (54) illustrates, this prediction is borne out.

- (54) omda<*-ge>-me<*-ge> gou en ik makannern gezien emmen.
 because-you_{CLITIC}-we_{CLITIC}-you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} and I each.other seen have
 ‘...because you and I saw each other.’

¹² An at first sight unusual aspect of this analysis concerns the type of ATB-movement it employs. Normally, the two ATB-moving elements have to be identical, while here it looks like the first one is a second person clitic and the second one a first person clitic. However, under a Late Insertion approach to the syntax-morphology interface, this apparent problem vanishes. What is moved in both cases is a ϕ P, i.e. a bundle of ϕ -features, and the way in which these bundles are actually spelled out is determined at a later stage in the derivation.

In this example, two clitics are attached to the complementizer. One of them doubles the entire coordination (the FuCCD-clitic) and the other one only the first conjunct (the FCCD-clitic). Regardless of the word order, however, this pattern is ruled out. This provides support for the idea that FCCD and FuCCD should be given a unified account, which they receive in this paper.

Summing up, in this section we have shown that FuCCD can be straightforwardly incorporated into the account of pronominal doubling that we have put forward in this paper. This means that the second set of data that proved problematic for traditional accounts of clitic doubling also becomes unproblematic from the present perspective.

8. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have focused on one type of pronominal subject doubling in Dutch dialects, namely the type whereby a clitic acts as the doubling element. First of all, we have shown that the traditional accounts of this phenomenon all run into problems when clitic doubling with coordinated subjects is considered. In such a case, the clitic can agree either with the first conjunct or with the coordination as a whole. Given that these facts are incompatible with a number of assumptions made by previous accounts of clitic doubling, they present a serious challenge for the theory.

We have then proceeded to put forward a unified theory of clitic doubling. Central to that account was the so-called ‘big DP’, a complex structure in which the doubling and the doubled element are merged together. Moreover, based on a classification of the Wambeek Dutch pronominal system into DP/ ϕ P/NP (cf. Déchaïne & Wiltschko 2002), we were able to make the internal structure of these big DPs very precise. The clausal syntax of clitic doubling involved two probing heads, each attracting a different part of the big DP. In the final two sections we have shown that this new account straightforwardly extends to first conjunct and full coordination clitic doubling. As such, these data ceased to be problematic.

One issue we have touched upon only minimally in this paper is the topic of crosslinguistic variation. In section 4.2 we pointed out that while in French the morphology of subject clitic pronouns could be seen as strong evidence in favor of a particular incarnation of the big DP-account, such evidence is lacking in Germanic. In the discussion that followed we implicitly assumed that the account we have proposed for dialect Dutch is not – or at least not straightforwardly – transferable to Romance. This is not altogether surprising given that there are many well-known and quite noticeable differences between pronominal doubling in the two language groups. To name but two of them, clitic doubling in Spanish targets objects, not subjects and unlike the data we have discussed, Spanish can double full DPs:

- (55) Lo vi a Luis.
 him_{CLITIC} I.see to Luis
 ‘I see Luis.’

That said, however, it is clear that a unified analysis for all types of pronominal doubling should remain the ultimate goal of current theorizing. With this paper, we hope to have come a small step closer towards achieving that goal.

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Appendix: The categorical status of pronouns in Wambeek Dutch

1. SUBJECT PRONOUNS

1.1 Subject clitics

Test 1 Condition C

- (56) Jef_i paust dat n_i gui winnen.
 Jef thinks that he_{CLITIC} goes win
 ‘Jef thinks that he will win.’

Test 2 Bound variable

a Simple QP

- (57) Elke joeng_i paust dat n_i gui winnen.
 every boy thinks that he_{CLITIC} goes win
 ‘Every boy thinks that he will win.’

b Split antecedent + QP

- (58) Elke student_i paust da-k_S gezeid em da me_{S,1} gonj winnen.
 every student thinks that-I_{clitic} said have that we_{CLITIC} go win
 ‘Every student thinks that I have said that we will win.’

c Split antecedent + indefinite

- (59) Elke kieje da’k_S me een vrou₁ suimewoeën, muike me_{S,1} rizee.
 every time that-I with a woman live.together make we_{CLITIC} argument
 ‘Every time I live together with a woman, we quarrel.’

d sloppy identity under ellipsis

- (60) Jef paust dat n gui winnen, en Piet oek.
 Jef thinks that he_{CLITIC} goes win, and Piet also
 = λx [x thinks that he will win] & λy [y thinks that he will win] [strict]
 = λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win] [sloppy]

Test 3 Argument status

- (61) Jef paust dat n gui winnen.
 Jef thinks that he_{CLITIC} goes win
 ‘Jef thinks that he will win.’

(62)

<i>Subject clitics</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	-
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	+
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	+
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	+
3	<i>argument</i>	+
	Conclusion	pro-ϕP

1.2 Weak subject pronouns

Test 1 Condition C

- (63) Waaile venj da, as men trouven, we_i veel geldj mute kraaigen.
 we find that, if we marry we_{WEAK} much money should get
 ‘We think that, if we marry, we should get a lot of money.’

Test 2 Bound variable

a simple QP

- (64) Elke vrou_i paust da, as ze mo wacht, ze_i gui trouven.
 every woman thinks that if she PRT wait, she_{WEAK} goes marry
 ‘Every woman thinks that, if she just waits, she will marry.’

b Split antecedent + QP

- (65) Elke vrou₁ da k_S gezien em zeit da, azzek me ee trouf,
 every woman who I seen have said that if.I with her marry
we_{S,1} geldj kraaigen.
 we_{WEAK} money get
 ‘Every woman I saw said that, if I marry her, we will get money.’

c Split antecedent + indefinite

- (66) Elke kieje da’k_S me een vrou₁ klap blekt da, azzek me ee
 every time that.I with a woman talk appears that if.I with her
 trouf, we_{S,1} veel geldj kraaigen.
 marry we_{WEAK} much money get
 ‘Every time I talk with a woman, it appears that, if I marry her, we get a lot of money.’

d Sloppy identity under ellipsis

- (67) Waaile pauzen da, ast reigert, we gonj winnen, mo gaailn oek.
 we think that if.t rains, we_{WEAK} go win, but you too
 = λx [x thinks that we will win] & λy [y thinks that we will win] [strict]
 = λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win] [sloppy]

Test 3 Argument

- (68) Waaile venj da, as men trouven, **we** veel geldj mute kraaigen.
 we find that, if we marry, we_{WEAK} much money should get
 ‘We think that, if we marry, we should get a lot of money.’

(69)

<i>Weak subject pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	-
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	+
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	+
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	+
3	<i>argument</i>	+
	Conclusion	pro-ϕP

1.3 Strong subject pronouns

Test 1 Condition C

- (70) Marie_i paust da **zaai**_i gui winnen.
 Marie thinks that she_{STRONG} goes win
 ‘Marie thinks that she will win.’

Test 2 Bound variable

a simple QP

- (71) Elke vrou_i paust da **zaai**_i gui winnen.
 every woman thinks that she_{STRONG} goes win
 ‘Every woman thinks that she will win.’

b Split antecedent + QP

- (72) * Elk maske_i paust da ‘k_S gezeid em da **waaile**_{S,1} gonj winnen.
 every girl thinks that I said have that we_{STRONG} go win
 ‘Every girl thinks that I have said that we will win.’

c Split antecedent + indefinite

- (73) * Elke kieje da 'k_S me een vrou₁ suimewoeën, muike **waai**_{S,1}
 everytime that I with a woman live.together make we_{STRONG}
 rieze.
 argument
 'Every time I live together with a woman, we quarrel.'

d sloppy identity under ellipsis

- (74) Marie paust da **zaai** gui winnen, en Julia oek.
 marie thinks that she_{STRONG} goes win, and Julia also
 = λx [x thinks that she will win] & λy [y thinks that she will win] [strict]
 ≠ λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win] [sloppy]

Test 3 Argument status

- (75) Marie paust da **zaai** gui winnen.
 marie thinks that she_{STRONG} goes win
 'Marie thinks that she will win.'

(76)

<i>Strong subject pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	inconclusive
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	-
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	-
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	-
3	<i>Argument</i>	+
	<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>pro-DP</i>

1.4 Clitic-doubled subject pronouns**Test 1 Condition C**

- (77) Marie_i paust da [**ze** **zaai**]_i gui winnen.
 marie thinks that she_{CLITC} she_{STRONG} goes win
 'Marie thinks that she will win.'

Test 2 Bound variable
a simple QP

- (78) Elke vrou_i paust da [ze zaai]_i gui winnen.
 every woman thinks that she_{CLITC} she_{STRONG} goes win
 ‘Every woman thinks that she will win.’

b Split antecedent + QP

- (79) * Elk maske₁ paust da ‘k_S gezeid em da me waaile_{S,1} gonj
 every girl thinks that I said have that we_{clitic} we_{STRONG} go
 winnen.
 win
 ‘Every girl thinks that I have said that we will win.’

c Split antecedent + indefinite

- (80) * Elke kieje da ‘k_S me een vrou₁ suimewoeën, muike .
 every time that I with a woman live.together make
me waaile_{S,1} rizee.
 we_{clitic} we_{STRONG} argument
 ‘Every time I live together with a woman, we quarrel.’

d sloppy identity under ellipsis

- (81) Marie paust da ze zaai gui winnen, en Julia oek.
 marie thinks that she_{clitic} she_{STRONG} goes win, and Julia also
 = λx [x thinks that she will win] & λy [y thinks that she will win] [strict]
 ≠ λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win] [sloppy]

Test 3 Argument status

- (82) Marie_i paust da [ze zaai]_i gui winnen.
 marie thinks that she_{CLITC} she_{STRONG} goes win
 ‘Marie thinks that she will win.’

(83)

<i>clitic doubled subject pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	inconclusive
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	-
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	-
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	-
3	<i>Argument</i>	+
	Conclusion	Pro-DP

1.5 A coordination of subject pronouns

Test 1 Condition C

- (84) * Waaile_i pauzen da [gou en ik]_i gonj winnen.
 we think that you_{STRONG} and I_{STRONG} go win

*Test 2 Bound variable***a simple QP**

- (85) * Elk koppel_i paust da [aai en zaai]_i gonj winnen.
 every couple thinks that he_{STRONG} and she_{STRONG} go win
 ‘Every couple thinks that he and she will win’

b Split antecedent + QP

- (86) * Elke vrou₁ dat n_S zag zou da [aai en zaai]_{S,1} muten
 every woman who he saw said that he_{STRONG} and she_{STRONG} should
 trouwen.
 marry
 ‘Every woman he saw said that he and she should get married.’

c Split antecedent + indefinite

- (87) * Elke kieje dat n_S een vrou₁ kust, muiken [aai en zaai]_{S,1}
 every time that he a woman kisses make he_{STRONG} and she_{STRONG}
 rieze.
 argument
 ‘Every time he kisses a woman, he and she quarrel.’

d sloppy identity under ellipsis

- (88) Ons muder paust da [gou en ik] gonj winnen,
 our mother thinks that you_{STRONG} and I_{STRONG} go win,
 en aaile muder oek.
 and your mother also
 = λx [x thinks that you & I will win] & λy [y thinks that you & I will win] [strict]
 ≠ λx [x thinks that x will win] & λy [y thinks that y will win] [sloppy]

Test 3 Argument status

- (89) [Gou en ik] gonj winnen.
 you_{STRONG} and I_{STRONG} go win
 ‘You and I will win.’

2 OBJECT PRONOUNS

2.1 Object clitic pronouns

Test 1 Condition C

- (90) * Jef_i paust da ge n_i gou gotj zien.
 Jef thinks that you_{CLITIC} him_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} go see
 ‘Jef thinks that you will see him (not Jef).’

Test 2 Bound variable

a simple QP

- (91) * Elke joeng_i paust da ge n_i gou gotj zien.
 every boy thinks that you_{CLITIC} him_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} go see
 ‘Every boy thinks that you will see him.’

b Split antecedent + QP

- (92) * Elke vrou₁ wui da Jan mee klapt_n paust da ge ze_i
 every woman whom that Jan with spoke thinks that you_{CLITIC} them_{CLITIC}
 gou gotj zien.
 you_{STRONG} go see
 ‘Every woman Jan spoke with thinks that you will see them.’

c Split antecedent + indefinite

- (93) * Elke kieje da Jan_S ba een vrou₁ woentj, paust n da ge
 Every time when Jan with a woman lives thinks he that you_{CLITIC}
 ze_{S,1} gou gotj ambeteren.
 them_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} go bother
 ‘Every time Jan lives with a woman, he thinks that you will bother them.’

*d sloppy identity under ellipsis*¹³

- (94) Jef ze vouter paust da ge n gou gezien etj,
 Jef his father thinks that you_{CLITIC} him_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} seen have
 en Pierre oek.
 and Pierre also
 = λx [x’s father thinks that you saw Jef] & λy [y thinks that you saw Jef] [strict]
 ≠ λx [x’s father thinks that you saw x] & λy [y thinks that you saw y] [sloppy]

¹³ We set up this example in such a way that the antecedent *Jef* is not c-commanding the clitic pronoun, as that would result in a Condition C violation (cf. supra, example (90)). The question arises if this example is as felicitous a test for detecting sloppy readings as the one we have been using so far. In the worst case scenario, then, the example in (94) is inconclusive.

Test 3 Argument status

- (95) Jef paust da ge n gou gotj zien.
 Jef thinks that you_{CLITIC} him_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} go see
 ‘Jef thinks that you will see him.’

(96)

<i>Object clitics</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	+
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	-
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	-
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	-
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	-
3	<i>argument</i>	+
	Conclusion	pro-DP

2.2 Weak object pronouns**Test 1 Condition C**

- (97) Jef_i paust da ge gou em_i gotj zien.
 Jef thinks that you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} him_{WEAK} go see
 ‘Jef thinks that you will see him.’

Test 2 Bound variable**a simple QP**

- (98) Elke joeng_i paust da ge gou em_i gotj zien.
 every boy thinks that you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} him_{WEAK} go see
 ‘Every boy thinks that you will see him.’

b Split antecedent + QP

- (99) Elke vrou₁ wui da Jan mee klaptn paust da ge
 every woman whom that Jan with spoke thinks that you_{CLITIC}
 gou ze_i gotj zien.
 you_{STRONG} them_{WEAK} go see
 ‘Every woman Jan spoke with thinks that you will see them.’

c Split antecedent + indefinite

- (100) Elke kiejē da Jan_S ba een vrou₁ woentj, paust n da ge
 Every time when Jan with a woman lives thinks he that you_{CLITIC}
 gou ze_{S,1} gotj ambeteren.
 you_{STRONG} them_{WEAK} go bother
 ‘Every time Jan lives with a woman, he thinks that you will bother them.’

d sloppy identity under ellipsis

- (101) Marie paust da ge gou ze gezien etj, en Julia oek.
 Marie thinks that you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} her_{WEAK} seen have and Julia also
 = λx [x thinks that you have seen Mary] & λy [y thinks that you have seen Mary] [strict]
 = λx [x thinks that you have seen x] & λy [y thinks that you have seen y] [sloppy]

Test 3 Argument status

- (102) Jef paust da ge gou em gotj zien.
 Jef thinks that you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} him_{WEAK} go see
 ‘Jef thinks that you will see him.’

(103)

<i>Weak object pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	-
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	+
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	+
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	+
3	<i>argument</i>	+
	Conclusion	pro-ϕP

2.3 Strong object pronouns
Test 1 Condition C

- (104) Marie_i paust da ge gou ee_i gotj zien.
 Marie thinks that you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} her_{STRONG} go see
 ‘Marie thinks that you will see her.’

Test 2 Bound variable
a simple QP

- (105) Elke vrou_i paust da ge gou ee_i gotj zien.
 every woman thinks that you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} her_{STRONG} go see
 ‘Every woman thinks that you will see her.’

b *Split antecedent + QP*

- (106)* Elke vrou₁ wui da Jan mee klapt_n paust da ge
 every woman whom that Jan with spoke thinks that you_{CLITIC}
 gou eele_i gotj zien.
 you_{STRONG} them_{STRONG} go see
 ‘Every woman Jan spoke with thinks that you will see them.’

c *Split antecedent + indefinite*

- (107)* Elke kieje da Jan_S ba een vrou₁ woentj, paust n da ge
 Every time when Jan with a woman lives thinks he that you_{CLITIC}
 gou ee_{S,1} gotj ambeteren.
 you_{STRONG} them_{STRONG} go bother
 ‘Every time Jan lives with a woman, he thinks that you will bother them.’

d *sloppy identity under ellipsis*

- (108) Marie paust da ge gou ee gezien etj, en Julia oek.
 Marie thinks that you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} her_{STRONG} seen have and Julia also
 = λx [x thinks that you have seen her] & λy [y thinks that you have seen her] [strict]
 = λx [x thinks that you have seen x] & λy [y thinks that you have seen y] [sloppy]

Test 3 *Argument status*

- (109) Marie_i paust da ge gou ee_i gotj zien.
 Marie thinks that you_{CLITIC} you_{STRONG} her_{STRONG} go see
 ‘Marie thinks that you will see her.’

(110)

<i>Strong object pronouns</i>		
1	<i>Condition C</i>	-
2	<i>Bound variable</i>	
a	<i>simple QP</i>	+
b	<i>Split antecedent + QP</i>	+
c	<i>Split antecedent + indefinite</i>	+
d	<i>sloppy identity under ellipsis</i>	+
3	<i>argument</i>	+
	<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>pro-PhiP</i>